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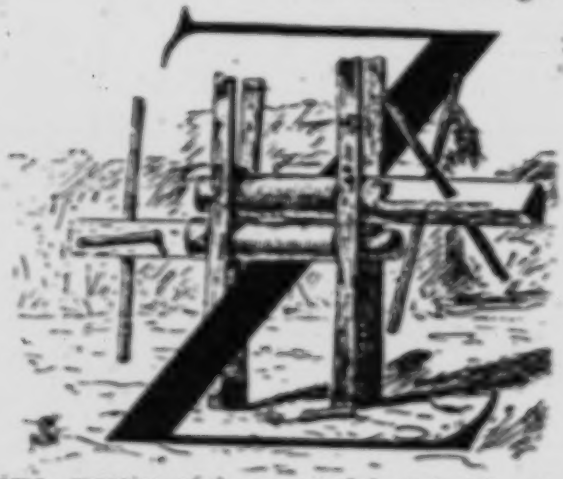
Eighth Chapter

The First Bakaïrí Village. -- March to the Paranatinga. -- The Second Bakaïrí Village.



In the report of José Gonçalves da Fonseca about a trip from Pará to the source region of the Madeira in the year 1749, I find, for the first time, mention of the name of the Bakaïrí, who consequently must have been known already to the first generation of Mata Grosso discoverers. In discussing the probable origin of the Schingú /Xingu/, he says that the rivers lying between the sources of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Tocantins, called "Bacaris" and "das Mortes," may undoubtedly be regarded as the source rivers of the Schingú. -- In the atlas of Thomas Jeffery of the year 1776, the "Bacahyris" on the Paranatinga are recorded.

Ayras de Cazal notes about our tribe in 1817: "The Baccahirys, who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes, wage an incessant war against all kinds of quadrupeds and birds. Up to the present time this people has not shown any hostility

[This drawing illustrates a Sugar Cane Press— C-4. P 22 -- Analyst]

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101 to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly:
115 one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."
[199] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of
[131] the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Paressi/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajoz, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.
192 I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo --
123 who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and
[191] warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity
[222] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

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361 [101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakaïrí: the aldeament on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeament on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary, [131] p. 172/; the Bakaïrí, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they ● 179 were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twenties, when 648 the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez 797 pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823 /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them. he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakaïrí still living, the "antiguos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361 The two aldeamente are under the administration of the 648 "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a [622] Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, 361 is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeament two legoas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grass widower.

[162] The village numbered six huts; the population amounted 342 to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [199] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

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342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence: they carried on agri-

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Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, máize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane.
●197 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa.
304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because
142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish,
141 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open
151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up: the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

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526 for Pedro, to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The
[177] Bakaïrí had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve
[534] guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm.
They improvised short "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the
534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

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André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kyanuaʔ ʃʌ. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of
[824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part.
533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

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361 The aldeament on the Paranatinga was smaller than the
622 one on the Rio Novo. Moreover, the order of the community
578 seemed seriously disturbed. Old Captain Caetano, probably near
[199] his eighties, despite his black hair, /120/ had been divested of his sovereignty in favor of a younger man, Felipe, at the instigation of the Martyrios expedition, which, with the help of the Bakaïrí, had crossed the Paranatinga and passed through a section of the sertão /wilderness; see the glossary, p. 172/ in a northerly direction. The Bakaïrí, of course, felt more obligated to obey Captain Caetano than Captain Felipe, and the result was that each one made himself as independent as possible and worked on his own.
164 Moreover, the tribe had been hard hit about eight years before by sarampão /measles/, an epidemic disease; the Brazilians put part of the blame for the number of deaths on the Indians because, in the heat of the fever, they had always run into the river.

162 At the time of our visit the Bakaïrí population was made up
621 of five men, five women, three children -- not present were five men, three women, one boy, whose return was, in part, no longer expected. Moreover, there were two Parecí women, one of whom was numbered among those not present, and two Cajibí[1] women, who had been adopted into the tribe. Finally, two Brazilians, caoutchouc-seekers, who had recovered from the fever in the village, had attached themselves, a mulatto Luis and a certain Martin who had a Paraguayan, Carlotta, as a wife, with a small son. Altogether there were 20 individuals present.

115 Luis, who had lived an adventurous life, a "philosopho," as he called himself, a "conversador," as his friend Daniel called him, was intimately acquainted with conditions; he
[191] chattered endlessly and was probably not altogether reliable, but he made himself useful, since the Portuguese of Caetano, who best knew the language, consisted of an extremely modest stock by words; "esse mêmo" -- "stimmt auffallend" /that's it exactly/ in German -- was the quintessence of his knowledge, so that the
144 soldiers soon called him nothing but "Capitão Mêmo." Luis maintained that Caetano was the son of a Bakaïrí father and

[1] [cajibí = Cayabi, a Tribe classified under SP2 Apiaca in The Outline of World Cultures -- Analyst]

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342 353 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

177 361 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color. They said that there were a few more settlements downstream. 133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with 291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum, 301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of 302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active [142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 [142] [302] Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/160 cont./

437 439 [554] carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a [137] walk to the roça.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in 291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is ● 177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which 412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this [411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears, [231] no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones, [276] teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax. [237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. cultivated field -- Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 40]

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaũ has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaïrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[53] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ buritĩ straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

●177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely how these had found their way here; I interpreted their descrip-
[72] tion and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijũ; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

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123 [249] Tumayaua had me plant tobacco in front of his house, a proposal that astonished me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest or quality; hence I asked only that he start it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco planter all my life. With Kulekule I had to go to the cataract [226] [177] below the village and help him with the fishing rod; he must not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

226 123 One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the saímo, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from [301] [412] the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Paleko with a section of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone ax that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he [271] moistened it with saliva at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing to see how my intended and her sister drank out of the Kulisehu: mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our ohohó ohohú hu in restrained tones, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alakuai took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I exposed my head to the pitiless campo sun.

226 Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a queimada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass; only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kútu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly: the kútu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the center, where the weirs lay,

/75 cont./

301 438 from the Batovy to the Kulisehu. I was confronted by one woman who wore nothing but a copper button on a string on her breast, and on this button was the 8 of the eighth Cuyaban battalion, to which our soldiers had belonged at that time. "Is it tuchú, 301 stone?" asked these living prehistorics. Of course, the beads were likewise stone, and, on account of their gay colors, they 153 preferred them to gold, which left them quite indifferent. I 179 had given them a few pins and had also showed them a needle, the only one that I had with me: they brought a pin back to me and asked me to make a hole in it, like the one in the needle.

Most peculiar was the alacrity with which they classified the things unfamiliar to them among those that were familiar to them and also immediately assigned familiar names to them directly and without any restrictive additions. They cut their [412] hair with sharp shells or the teeth of the piranha fish, and my [237] scissors, the object of unreserved delight, which cut hair so smoothly and evenly, were simply called "piranha tooth." The mirror was "water!" "Show the water," they cried when they wanted to see the mirror. And I made a much slighter impression with it than I had expected.

The compass was called "sun," the watch "moon." I had showed them that, no matter how I turned and twisted the case, the needle always pointed to the highest position of the sun, and the very similar watch, whose spring they said was a hair, seemed to them the natural counterpart, for the /76/ special reason that it "did not sleep at night." Often in the middle of the conversation they would demand that I take out the watch, and then they would laugh very contentedly when it was actually awake and ticking.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to think that this sincere curiosity and admiration was based on an actual thirst for knowledge or a deeper need of understanding. They never got beyond the question: "Did you make that?" No, I simply did my circus act, I displayed my tricks, and they were pleased that at any moment I could show them in all elegance and never disgraced myself. The most baffling example of superficial satisfaction

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153 177 was later given by fat Yapü when Vogel showed him his gold watch and, in order to make him aware of the valuable gold, turned it over, by contrast, to the side with glass. Yapü happened to have in his hand a piece of beijú, a mandioca flat-cake, which is customarily baked well on only one side and thus had one beautiful golden yellow and one grayish white side; "Beijú," he said complacently and strode on. The appearance was familiar to him from the beijú, and there was really no point in delaying over it.

And here, too, I can recall their surprise when one of the gentlemen /Herren/ who was in a position to remove a set of false teeth put on this stunt. They marveled, but soon laughed, and a few days later when they were removing the teeth, their native "knives," from the piranha fish caught and were asked by one of the comrades /Kameraden, Ger. "comrades," the workers, the peons, on the trip, in contrast to the Herren, the "gentlemen" who were in charge of the expedition/ why they were doing this, one of them answered, not without wit: "So that we can help ourselves out, like the brother, when one day we grow old."

How would it have been possible actually to explain to them any of my apparatus or even a knife or a button? How should I have made a "machine" comprehensible to them? What they were obliged to do they did; they were very attentive and it was delightful to observe the liveliness and the air of importance with which a just demonstrated trick was described to a new arrival, an ignoramus in their eyes. Thus they quite accurately noted that my Swedish matches ignited only on the friction surface; with great enthusiasm a new arrival was instructed in Bakaïrí about "tända endast mot lådans plån." What lady among us would be able to say anything more about it? Not to mention the fact that none has any idea of what fire is. At first they were frightened, then they found the matter thrilling, then very nice and funny, and finally they reached the practical application and, when a fire was to be lighted, asked me to set fire to a thick chunk of wood with my Swedes. One woman, for whom the initial feeling probably continued to prevail, took an empty box and hung it around her baby's neck.

/76 cont./

153 197 Their need for probing into the nature of new things was exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /77/ "Eséti?" "Eséti?" "What is that called?" cried the whole company in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after me the Portuguese words. One or another would often go on whispering the word to himself for a long time while the conversation went on. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succession. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducing the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impression that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "Papéra," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as the name for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not examine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they could now quickly come to terms with it: it was quite simply "papéra."

522 [192] Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered, one will very soon know what "a pretty girl" is. Their "pekóto iwáku" or the more endearing "pekóto iwakulukúlu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita," which they were well able to imitate and which they now practiced with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eva; she laughed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and distinctly. She continued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do among us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say what "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayaua's attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very successful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so much that they were unable to talk for laughing; they fairly yodeled with abandon.

576 These were the gloomy and reserved Indians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawned openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It was not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here, too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained alone with my guard.

/93 cont./

126 534 283 [301] [239] stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Luchu is wearing on Plate 6, I, others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an oar decorated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that is, disks made of potsherds, and a quantity of remarkable cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these third Bakaïrí it was clearly shown that we were with the section of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such here. The Bakaïrí do not make any pots themselves and do not themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the Trumaí. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head, tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently worked out. From the Auetó we found a half-broken clay doll; also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton; from the Trumaí and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

● 177 439 [323]

648 732 We met a Nahuquá in person; unfortunately, the man was obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kustenaú of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakaïrí among them, the Yuruna likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photographs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there was a pronounced Sémitic type, of which Plate 13, I, represents a classic example. The people submitted to everything and called the caliper compass núna, "moon." Only one man was indignant when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements

[153]

I [See p. 138 -- Analyst]

/93 cont./

126 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory
153 worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuá, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads; for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakaïrí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible
345 to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not
562 permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, shoved the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once
226 more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the
● [177] inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a
122 bagadú, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

2: Steinen- -124 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/130 cont./

752 her arm, who also needed company. A colleague with a very
752 professional look on his face sat beside her and occasionally had
755 a therapeutic seizure, during which, moaning pitiably, he blew clouds of tobacco smoke over the sick woman or, turned toward the wall, groaned dreadfully. The "cab driver," who, with Tumayaua, had accompanied us as far as the Auetõ and who was a great witch-doctor, took leave of us here. He by all means had to take part in the treatment and was not to be persuaded to leave the case solely to his colleague, who was, after all, blowing extremely efficiently. As a reward for this
123 177 291 civilized behavior, we provided him with a /131/ civilized exterior in the form of a shirt and head covering, which, along with a big knife, was the goal of his ambition. We solemnly dressed him up, along with Tumayaua, who had been parading about for a long time in a black and white checked shirt and white linen trousers underneath, and we photographed the two, as is shown in Figure 8 /see p. 125/. Wilhelm had been saving up a few prizes for the deserving travel companions, a magnificent Düsseldorf carnival-cap, worn by him himself as Prince Carnival on a high triumphal chariot, green, yellow, white, and red, with sparkling bells, likewise the medal of His Foolish Majesty, set with brilliants and worn around the neck -- these two pieces went to Tumayaua -- and a genuine carnival cap of the still gayer sister city on the Rhine, which we put over the tonsure of the cab-driver colleague, for want of a doctoral hood. /Figure 8 appears here./ In addition, Tumayaua was given a black frock-coat purchased by Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro, an import from Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection /and the
000 last word in perfection/. The illustration gives us a faint idea of how ghastly the two fools, puffed up with pride, appeared in their clothing, both certainly not the most handsome types, but now they suddenly looked positively ugly, bent and crooked, and the reason for this, more than the shabbiness of the costume, was that all the contour lines were obliterated and had lost their character. Tumayaua in shirt and trousers was as clumsy as on the first day; he would tear them in the forest, but then again

/131 cont./

000 would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

846 In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing

241 the couvade. The maize was a
262 succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize
249 beijús. My tobacco planting on
417 village plaza had shot up tre-
[179] mendously and was fenced in all
[291] around by a palisade.

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

But what did our astonished
177 eyes catch sight of behind
342 Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

123 Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me
[415] two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

/210 cont./

114 276 [177] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

*171 276 753 773 It plays an important part in medical treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the

*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú; their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

[i.e., The Tobacco --Analyst]

/215 cont./

*171 462 satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

[113]

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roasting rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252]

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakaïrí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakaïrí expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ** was the sole bearer of

*171 323

[439]

[179]

** According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

/235 cont./

*171 226 on the fishing of the Bakaïrí with catch-baskets in the shallow campo lagoon. The natives like to fish between the stones on dark nights by torchlight. We did not see any poisoning of fish.

*171 229 177 It is a fact of great significance that the fishhook was unknown to all these tribes of such diverse origins, tribes of such avid fishermen. It argues persuasively for the frequent claim that the hook was introduced only by Europeans in the north and south of Amazonas. If this is not the case, the only way out is that our tribes left their original homes before the hook was known there. For, anyone who saw, as I did, with what interest the natives became acquainted with our fishhook will smile here, if anywhere, at the thought that the degenerate Indians have forgotten an invention well known to them formerly -- when they were still close to the point of departure of the Karaiben /Carib/ or the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ or the Tupí or the Gẽs. It is understandable that Indians under peaceful circumstances no longer make any clubs, it would be understandable that one or another of our tribes had migrated here from Amazonas and gave up the wooden canoe because they got along excellently on the upper course with the easily constructed bark canoes, but that fishermen who had formerly fished with a hook and line gave it up in a region where they might continue practicing the skill to great advantage and that their descendants are obliged to let themselves be taught anew by us, let anyone believe that who can. In Guaraní and Tupí /236/ hook, and especially fishhook, is called pinda, and from this word, in both dialects, Xylopia frutescens, which furnishes the fishing rod, is called pinda-iba = hook-rod. For the Kamayurá, who certainly leave nothing to be desired in Tupí purity and to whom we seemed to be tribal brothers with the comparison of the words that we had in common, the correspondence failed for this particular plant: they did not know pindaiba and called it ivíra or ivít, the ymbira of the Tupí or hybir of the Guaraní (= "skin-tree"), according to Martius "name of various Bombaceae and Xylopia." The decadent company had also forgotten the plant name "hook rod," although it was so easy for them to remember.

/297 cont./

B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 ●197 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

2: Steinen--344E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888)1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/299 cont./

* 171 535 5. Oval frames on which are stretched netting, cotton plaiting, and cotton weaving. Facial parts of wax pasted on, eyes of cotton flocks, beans, mother-of-pearl. Painted. Bakaïrí, Auetó, Kamayurá, Trumaí.

* 171 532 635 6. Wooden masks. Square wooden plates with mighty bulging forehead and nose of human form. Painted on: natural markings of the animal, outline of the animal, body parts of the animal (wings, fins), stylized animal designs. Eyes of mussel shell, mouth with fish teeth pasted on with wax; the latter, like the former, again of human shape. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, Auetó, Kamayurá, and, in the largest development, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. The Mehinakú had only wooden masks. A transitional form between 5 and 6, without the forehead bulge and oval, among the Auetó.

Fig. 90. Imeo dancer. Bakaïrí.

* 171 527 535 [179] In the masked festivals borrowings from foreign tribes, which are suggested through visits, and local cultivation of special variations are undoubtedly mixed.

Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mainz, and Trier also have, in their carnival societies, different caps, different insignia, different customs /300/ in the meetings, different songs, different slogans, and different motifs for the vehicles of the procession. Here, too, special "ladies' meetings" are announced for the participation of the female sex, and the women rigorously guard

/345 cont./

#171 755 774 man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." He lies "dead" in the hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piajes who drink âgokurióku and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly; one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakaïrí have, I can only say, [177] snapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingú dress amidst beijús and surrounded by gourds filled with starch-paste and yellow pikí juice. At the same time we were assured that the [775] [773] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje, visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

/364 cont./

754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

713 [712] Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

• [771] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.• A coincidence is completely

• Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient

2: Steinen--466E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/388 cont./

195 "Padre" Lopes reached as far as the region of the Paranatinga
199 and converted the West Bakaïrí to Christianity. Lopes was an adventurous gold-seeker, about whom the painter of the Langsdorff Expedition* of 1828 remarks that, accompanied by

[113] * Hercules Florence; cf. Revista Trimensal, Vol. 38, II, p. 280.

Apiaká /Apiaca/ Indians, he had gone up the Rio dos Peixes, a tributary of the Arinos, and "fought with many savages." At any rate, since his visit, which cost the lives of Reginaldo's grandfather and others, the West Bakaïrí have been regarded as
195 Christians. How superfluous the brutalities of the noble Lopes were comes out best from the following words of the geographer
[113] Ayras de Cazal in his Corographia Brasilica /Chorography of Brazil/ of the year 1817, therefore before Lopes: "The Baccahirys who inhabit the regions adjacent to the Rio das Mortes carry on ceaseless warfare against all types of quadrupeds and birds. To this day these people have not engaged in any hostilities against the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly: one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

[101] The real reason why the Bakaïrí could have been regarded as a horde of the Paressí, as happened in the case of Martius, is simply that there was no accurate information about either one
[199] of the neighboring tribes. If the natives occasionally came to Cuyabá in small numbers in order to beg for a few gifts of ironware, shirts, trousers, or blankets from the government, they were felt to be annoying guests whom one tried to get rid of as quickly as possible, and about whose language or peculiarities no official needed to bother. They did not live, say, near an avenue of communication connecting two important towns, but rather, on the contrary, sat behind the very last little colonists, who themselves received very little attention, there where there were no avenues at all; they did not do these neighbors any harm and were therefore of no interest whatever to the government.
197 The good Chief Felipe in the Paranatinga village racked his brains

/388 cont./

197 in vain as to why /389/ it happened that the Bororó, who inflicted fire and pillage upon the land, received lavish gifts as soon as a few individuals were seized, whereas he himself, with his fellow tribesmen, who for generations had devoted themselves to the finest peaceableness, was obliged to return empty-handed even on his last visit to the great captain.

127 [113] Almost everything that we can learn about the West Bakaïrí from Brazilian sources is summed up in a report of the Directoria dos Indios from the year 1848; cf. the excerpt in the appendix.*

* In Petermann's Mittheilungen for the year 1862, p. 437, there is a review of an article which Dr. Amédée Moure published in the Nouvelles Annales des Voyages about 33 tribes of the province of Mato Grosso on the basis of his own experiences and adventures. The reviewer gave a comprehensive summary of Dr. Moure's data in a table arranged according to tribe, number of persons, and places of residence. Under the tribes we find some listed with 20,000, 30,000, even 50,000 persons. If one adds the minima and maxima of the estimates, one obtains the result that the number of Indians of the Mato Grosso comes to 241,800 to 282,000. If today we estimate the total number of the Matò Grosso population of all colors, all the docile and savage inhabitants on every level of culture, at about 70,000, it will undoubtedly come much closer to the truth. The original article by Dr. Moure (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie, Vol. II, 1862, pp. 5-19, 323-341, III, pp. 77-100, Paris) also contains small factual atrocities such as, for example, that the Cambixis, who live in the Campos dos Parecis and have a pure Nu-Aruak dialect, speak the Peruvian Kechua

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127 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 8670; on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

105 The Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited [197] [164] by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small mass-baptism and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from [157] measles; the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

103 I made an effort to learn more details about the history of [115] the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the 173 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the 131 present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Verde 167 coming from the left, the West Bakaïrí, at least since the middle 361 of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caixão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakaïrí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where [177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times,

/390 cont./

131 brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in
173 search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to
177 cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use
167 the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from
361 them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

131 The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His
173 father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather,
601 like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Mariukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

131 It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition
173 as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy
[101] tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajoz source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Karaiben /Carib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajoz. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

173 /391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by
131 another Bakaïrí; at that time there were serious conflicts within
[167] the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

[361] Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West
[487] Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are
[167] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-
[177] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.
[101] Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

[167] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

175 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and
● [177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man; they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
43 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

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In January of 1887 Felipe gaily set out for Cuyabá to let himself be presented with more iron goods, but his hopes were not appreciated there, and he was sent home empty-handed. Tumayaua told us in 1887 that the Bakaïri of the first Batovy village had again gone to the Paranatinga; they must have arrived there shortly after our departure. I had no further opportunity to hear more details about this later.

II. Shift of the Karaiben to the North.

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Chiefly relying on linguistic evidence, I attempted, on the basis of the results of the first Schingú /Xingu/ expedition, to defend the hypothesis that the newly discovered Karaiben /Carib/ in the source region of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and Schingú lived closer to the original seats of the tribe than did the Karaiben north of the Amazonas, that the latter immigrated from the south into the Guianas and from there crossed over to the Lesser Antilles.

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I advanced a movement in the same direction only for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ always appearing next to the Karaiben, although I was well aware that there was far greater uncertainty here than in the case of the Karaiben. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien, page 297 /omitted in 1:Steinen of this file, a translation of the work cited/. "Whether the common ancestors lived in the northern or southern part of the stretch of country over which we find the grandchildren distributed is rather unimportant considering the present state of our knowledge. My feeling -- that is all -- is more inclined to assume that the movement started from the plateau." My feeling, however, deceived me for an important part of the Nu-Aruak group, the Paressí, of whom I had erroneous ideas based on reports of Cuyabans; for, at least according to the statements that I obtained from them directly in 1888, they definitely advanced from north to south, even though the boundary may be uncertain with regard to how far north their homeland is to be shifted. At the present time the problem concerning the Nu-Aruak is not yet to be taken in at a glance: we know too little about the Moxos /Mojo/ and

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776 Is Nakoeri really an adumbration of Christ, a vestige of
174 Catholic catechesis? We are reluctant to believe it, because
● 177 the animals that Nakoeri creates, the role that he fulfills in relation to the admission of shadows into his realm, his investiture of the curers, the division of the various dominions in the sky, the novel means by which one journeys there, all point to a structure in harmony with the idea of the world prevalent among the Bacaeris. Either the Christian idea is totally unrelated to the Bacaeri conception, or it was completely smothered by the native chick-peas in which it was sown.

776 Granting that Nakoeri is a spontaneous and not a foreign concept, it is fitting to inquire as to whether he is indeed a luminous deity, as was stated above.

The darkness of the sky would incline one to place him preferably among the dark powers; but his clear differentiation from the yamüras--which are, indeed, dark forces, as the name itself indicates--checks this first impulse. Further arguments are provided by the white benches on which the candidate must sit if he wants to rise to piahi; the use of cotton, a material so unpleasant to the yamüra that its burned seed drives them far from the houses that they haunt; and finally, the arara tail which he ties to the maracá. Actually in Bacaeri, kχavida tapabileʃ iχu torokχo means two quite different things: the tail of the beautiful psittacine with which we are familiar, and the hour /267/ that immediately precedes the rising of the sun. "First appears maekudani (probably 'anta deceiver' because the animal wakes up, thinking that day is near); then the yellow tail of the kχalokua arara; then arises the tail of the red arara; the tail of the red arara is not yet finished and the sun has already risen (kχavida tapabileʃ ixutaroxo nadãepala xixi eʃaceli)," reads a text which we have before our eyes. Thus, both as a zoological object and as an astronomical moment, the tail of the arara proves that Nakoeri represents a luminous power.

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114 101 133 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to [121] Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to complement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí [115] Andrés, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabi/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kulisehu and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kulisehu in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kulisehu. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 648 175 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on [179] the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers. This fact had such an incisive

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114 influence on the later development of these Indians, with their
648 very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their
175 primordial customs completely during the 50 years following
[177] Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the
114 region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series
121 of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

114 If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the
101 Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had
[115] taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairí also lived, but that at the present date they did not know any-
174 thing about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken
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4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

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174 Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu
177 rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
619 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
114 (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the
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5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's
101 historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

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175 Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairí villages on the Rio Novo,
622 held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim,
648 was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paranatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

105 The way of life of the western Bakairí, at the time of Karl
[177] von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, porotos /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/, rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairí worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herds of oxen to Cuiabá.

105 In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western
177 Bakairí to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still
178 kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their
[191] native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

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105 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/ rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut built like the houses of the eastern Bakairí who live in the regions of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old Bakairí man with a young Kayabí woman. Bows and arrows were still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí the order of things
622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
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11. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe, installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso government. The Bakairí, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
[115] den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairí, was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairí were at that time the Indians to whom
648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairí was hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

173 /16 cont./undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer To
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
● 177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the

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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

/16 cont./

correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon, are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e., Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

175 /17 cont./
722 the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was
727 the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women,
[563] captured in hostile encounters with the Paressí, we must
[177] attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 365.

173 According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the
166 origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the falls, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the
175 Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these /Indians/ themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his
175 section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visits be-
619 tween the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal
[128] with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio ~~Kulisehu~~ and influencing

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look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo. The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them. Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the ancestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow countrymen of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects, made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

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Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

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756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

177 When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
178 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
[114] articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land. They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who
241 passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
114 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beijús/. I mention this fact especially, because

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231 a table made of vertigas and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kulisehu Bakairí, pottery-
[323] making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
[285] ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
[283] described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
[252] essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
[322] longer depended on stone axes, drills with stone points, shells,
[412] and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
[301] the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
[291] clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole
[291] national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulisehu Indians,
361 the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kinsfolk and one small house for fiestas with an
345 oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of kinsfolk and of one house for fiestas. Thus
[161] the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold as correct Herrmann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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30. Herrmann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

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114 115 met one of the Bakairí who had accompanied me in the year 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kulisehu. He too was already [164] very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly 114 361 unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between this post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries [173] led by Prestes. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Coroado had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí and four kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Ribeão Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranchos for the Bakairí Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Bakairí lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

361 622 166 101 In the middle of the post was the house of the Bakairí, Pires, whom the administration had entrusted with the caciqueship over the Bakairí who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Bakairí, Luchu, 114 115 who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, who with Cacique Tumayaua had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book [179] Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

/30 cont./
dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still lived Luisa Kayabí, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in Maigerí and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witchcraft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinakú and the Nahukuá, who had been envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other discords had caused these Bakairí, called Xinguanos, not to get along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. I found the first of these Xinguano settlements at the place where the Ribeirão Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

/31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea, Karía. I had already encountered Karía when I visited Cacique Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique, and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

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114 enemy Indian. Just as an untiring search for the "martyrs" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same regions in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranchos, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Simões Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. [312] [241] The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Xinguanos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paranatinganos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paranatinga.

[114] /33/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Simões Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a journey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (38) According to

[113] 38. Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil," The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, Number 2, Philadelphia, pp. 127-130.

361 /33 cont./ According To
648 Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldea, so that the Indians
[871] kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information,
648 I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree
•177 with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences
241 among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a seminomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kulisehu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
114 in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga,

/33 cont./

226 114 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchán fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /34/ matrinchán. Later at the aldea, then situated [123] farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty matrinchán, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927 in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

114 177 283 352 I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for 114 177 304 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

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114 tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but
177 that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my
304 Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the
164 Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the
648 care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphillis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when
159 I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death
178 of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

184 178 177 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

/35 cont./

result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Paranatinga, Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B. 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized,

42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

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535 126 [531] Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 126 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tóju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 532 751 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 194 177 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards, probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

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The basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí shown in Figure 38 (V.B. 9907. Diameter 26 cm. Height 6.5 cm.) must be held as a transitional product of a new age. In its /40/ external form and its rim, formed with the ends of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the rhomboidal ornamentation common among the Bakairí, it also presents a winding /given in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost nonexistent, while this decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabí, neighbors of the Bakairí, and also appears sporadically in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairí, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí as an element alien to typical Bakairí ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabí women among the Paranatinga Bakairí, it may be assumed that they introduced this new decoration to the Bakairí. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting were formed in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that four of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in those areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the rhomboidal or cross-shaped decorations common among the Bakairí. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrasts to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairí in former times. The workmanship in this basket conveys the impression that the Bakairí in this case accepted the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

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184 285 177 531 171 work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the process of transition in their cultural goods. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the center of one of the rhomboidal figures.

285 531 The basket shown in Figure 39 and called by the Bakairí humureba (V.B. 9885. Height 14 cm. Width of the bottom 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a good example of those plaited objects from the Simões Lopes Bakairí which were made strictly in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (47) with this type of basketry, which

47. Max Schmidt, "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas," loc. cit., pp. 157-158. Idem., Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 355, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shown that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket, while the four corners are folded upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /41/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Simões Lopes (see diagram for Figure 39), the

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121 756 784 In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí /Bacairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the uanki state, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

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1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

114 121 literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

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161 The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /260/ in 1947. They live in aldeas in Mato Grosso, at the Simões Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

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131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los
[113] Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the
619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
231 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
648 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
177 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

754 /266 cont./ But in the event the illness had been
755 caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 /267/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases
[114] caused by omeoto (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den
[753] Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and
[177] is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo
[834] training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, sub-
[262] mitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal
[784] diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained uanki, enclosed in the kadoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended
[787] with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian
[276] spirit, or iamüra. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP 7

[P.69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the
Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out
in the course of a reconnaissance survey which
the writer was then making of some of the central
and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a
Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by
the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a
truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made
over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in
contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá
which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from
2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by
Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de
Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev.
Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the
South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among
the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting inform-
ants and in adding to our knowledge of the
Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
36/ Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção
aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí
living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State,
Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão
Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
36/ Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other
Indians and Brazilians forced them to move
about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the
tribe split, one group moving north to settle on
the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the
Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo.
After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this
group moved to the present location of Simão
Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
●177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to
Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on
reservation lands and receive assistance from the
Brazilian Government.

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7

THE BACAIRI

[P. 69-B]

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101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[197] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in
142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical
[144] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by
131 Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them
175 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on,
177 more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and
[79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates
101 from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the
131 Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from
361 Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 The following table gives size and number of
162 inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

B 361 648 a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bound to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

B 177 648 M 658 The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of such groups of the native population as come under its tutelage.

B 177 [233] The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, when they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they B [241] are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

B 164 [165] In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kuluseu who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers 000 upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1

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Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paghuli, or Marcellino, and Apacanu, both of whom had lived on the Kuluseu before the withdrawal of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Anahukua to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

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The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

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As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giacomo Anzil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kulusen river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, filed in a long line across the wastes of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual bantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian camaradas.

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As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked